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DRAFTED BY: AF/E:SMCILVAINE:STM

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TAGS: PREL, US, RW
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PAPER AND TALKING POINTS FOR
MOOSE-HEFLEBOWER MISSION

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

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2. THE BACKGROUND PAPER AND TALKING POINTS PREPARED FOR

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A/S MOOSE AND MG HEFLEBOWER'S MISSION TO RWANDA FOLLOW:

2. BACKGROUND PAPER AND SCENE SETTER. BEGIN TEXT:

OUR GOAL

WE HAVE AIMED AT ACHIEVING RECONCILIATION AND A BROAD BASED GOVERNMENT, CONDITIONS THAT PROMOTE REGIONAL STABILITY, AN END TO THE CYCLE OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE AND A RETURN OF MOST REFUGEES. WITHOUT SUCH RETURN, WE ARE LEFT WITH A VAST POOL OF REFUGEES WHO DRAW ON OUR RESOURCES AND KEEP THE RWANDAN POT BREWING HUMANITARIAN AND REGIONAL CRISIS FOR YEARS.

THE SCENE

RWANDA IS SLOWLY REBUILDING AFTER LAST YEAR'S CIVIL WAR. WATER AND ELECTRIC SYSTEMS ARE WORKING IN THE TOWNS AGAIN COMMUNICATIONS ARE BEING RESTORED, RADIO STATIONS AND NEWSPAPERS ARE OPERATING, SCHOOLS ARE OPENING, AND GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICES ARE REAPPEARING. THE COUNTRYSIDE IS FILLING UP AGAIN BUT MANY OF THE RETURNEES ARE TUTSI EXILES FROM 1959, RATHER THAN THE HUTU WHO FLED IN 1994. THIS YEAR'S HARVEST IS REPORTED TO BE A REMARKABLE 60 PERCENT OF NORMAL. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE WAR STRIPPED THE COUNTRY OF MOST OF ITS PROFESSIONALS, THE GOVERNMENT IS BARELY ABLE TO FUNCTION WITHOUT RESOURCES, AND THE UNDERSTANDABLE CLAMOR FOR JUSTICE BY THE TARGETS OF GENOCIDE IS RISING AND UNANSWERED.

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HUTUS AND TUTSI'S ARE LOCKED IN A RELATIONSHIP CHARACTERIZED BY HATE AND FEAR. TUTSI'S PRESENTLY HAVE THE UPPER HAND IN RWANDA. THE SUM OF THEIR ACTIONS SEEM DIRECTED AT PRESERVING THAT SUPERIORITY -- AN IMPOSSIBLE LONG TERM GOAL. BUT IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY WHETHER THE PATTERN WE SEE IS A REFLECTION OF A SYSTEMATIC PLAN. IT CERTAINLY REFLECTS A SYSTEMIC FLAW THAT PERVADES RWANDA -- A BITTER, NO-HOLDS-BARRED ETHNIC, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIVALRY. THE ATTEMPTED GENOCIDE LAST YEAR ONLY REINFORCES TUTSI "NEVER AGAIN" DETERMINATION.

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LAST JANUARY IN GENEVA, DONORS, THE UN AND THE GOVERNMENT AGREED ON A PROGRAM THAT WOULD PROMOTE RECONCILIATION RETURN AND RECONSTRUCTION. UNFORTUNATELY, EVENTS IN RWANDA HAVE ENTERED INTO A VICIOUS CYCLE, CARRYING US AND RWANDA AWAY FROM OUR GOALS.

EXTREMISTS AMONG THE HUTU EXILES AND THE TUTSI DOMINATED GOVERNMENT ARE DESTROYING THE MODERATE CENTER AND WITH IT HOPES FOR RECONCILIATION AND RETURN. THAT CYCLE INCLUDES MILITARY AND TERRORIST ACTION DIRECTED AT RWANDA FROM THE CAMPS IN ZAIRE; THE INCREASING ASSERTIVENESS OF TUTSI HEGEMONISTS IN KIGALI; THE SECURITY MEASURES THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN TO PROTECT ITSELF FROM THE INCIPIENT HUTU INSURGENCY; TENSIONS

BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND UNAMIR; THE CLIMATE OF INTIMIDATION THAT MOST HUTUS FACE IN RWANDA, INCLUDING THE RISK OF ARBITRARY ARREST IN PRIMITIVE DETENTION CENTERS; VIOLENT RPA (RWANDA PATRIOTIC ARMY) ACTION AGAINST THE IDP (INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS) CAMPS, AND MOVE- TO DENY
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FOOD TO THEIR ENEMIES ACROSS THE BORDER IN ZAIRE.

THE GOVERNMENT JUSTIFIES ITS ACTIONS IN TERMS OF SECURITY NEEDS, AND THE INABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND ITS NEIGHBORS TO GET THE SECURITY THREAT UNDER CONTROL.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN VERY SLOW IN DELIVERING ITS ASSISTANCE TO KIGALI ASSISTANCE THAT IS NECESSARY IF THERE IS TO BE A FUNCTIONING GOVERNMENT INCLUDING A JUDICIAL SYSTEM. DONORS AND THE UN ARE KEENLY AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM AND ARE TRYING TO FIND WAYS TO ACCELERATE AID DELIVERY, PARTICULARLY TO THE ALL IMPORTANT JUSTICE SYSTEM. THE GOVERNMENT'S DISPUTE WITH THE WORLD BANK HAS PREVENTED THE DISBURSEMENT OF A BADLY NEEDED DOLLARS 50 MILLION EMERGENCY CREDIT.

WHATEVER THE EXPLANATION FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES, IT'S POOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND ITS TENSIONS

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WITH THE UN ARE CAUSING SERIOUS QUALMS AMONG MANY DONORS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE SUPPORTED A PARTIAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR NON-LETHAL MATERIAL. THE PROSPECTS OF EVEN THAT LIMITED STEP ARE NOW NIL, WE BELIEVE, AS A RESULT OF RWANDAN GOVERNMENT BEHAVIOR.

EFFECTIVE REVERSAL OF THE PRESENT COURSE REQUIRES CORRECTION IN THE BEHAVIOR OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE DONORS AND THE UN.

THE PLAYERS

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THE RPA IS THE DOMINANT FORCE IN THE GOVERNMENT. GENERAL HEFLEBOWER'S PRESENCE AND VOICE ON THIS MISSION WILL PLAY POWERFULLY WITH THIS CONSTITUENCY. KAGAME, IN TURN, IS THE MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON IN THE RPA, OR SO IT SEEMS AND HE OFTEN SEEMS TO FAVOR MODERATE POSITIONS. IF SO, HE CLEARLY DOES NOT ALWAYS CARRY THE DAY. PM TWAGIRAMUNGU, A HUTU, HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY SYMPATHETIC TO OUR POSITIONS AND OUR GOALS, BUT HIS INFLUENCE IS QUITE LIMITED. PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU, ALTHOUGH A HUTU, USUALLY CLOSELY REFLECTS MILITANT TUTSI POSITIONS.

A KEY SILENT PLAYER IS THE MASSIVE HUTU PRESENCE IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. THE LEADERSHIP OF THESE CAMPS HAS BEEN DRAWN FROM THE VERY ELEMENTS THAT PRODUCED THE MURDER OF HUTU MODERATES, THE GENOCIDE AND THE OTHER CRIMES LAST YEAR. THIS LEADERSHIP IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND TO THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI THE "GOVERNMENT IN EXILE",

HOWEVER, SEEMS TO HAVE STRONG HOLD OVER THE CAMPS -- IN PART BECAUSE OF INTIMIDATION AND IN PART BECAUSE ALL HUTU

REFUGEES, WHETHER THEY HAVE BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS OR NOT, ARE TOO SCARED OF THEIR POSSIBLE FATE SHOULD THEY RETURN TO RWANDA.

JUSTICE BEFORE ALL

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THERE IS NO SINGLE CAUSE OF THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. AND
THERE IS NO SINGLE CURE. BUT IT IS EVIDENT TO ALL THAT
GIVING THE TUTSI AND HUTU VICTIMS OF LAST YEAR'S WAR A
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SENSE THAT JUSTICE IS BEING METED OUT TO THE AUTHORS AND
INSTRUMENTS OF THE CRIMES IS ESSENTIAL. THE VICTIMS OF
LAST YEAR'S GENOCIDE DOMINATE THE NEW GOVERNMENT.
UNDERSTANDABLY, DEALING WITH THE PERPETRATORS OF THAT
GENOCIDE IS AT THE TOP OF THE GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA (AND
OURS). THE PERCEPTION IS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
FAILED TO PREVENT THE GENOCIDE' FAILED TO INTERVENE TO
STOP IT ONCE IT STARTED LAST APRIL, AND IS NOW FAILING TO
BRING THE PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE. INSTEAD -- IN THE
TUTSI VIEW -- THE MEDIA, THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND THE
DONORS COMPLAIN ABOUT OVERCROWDED PRISONS, ROUGH TREATMENT
OF IDPS (WHO HARBOR MURDERERS), AND MINOR REPRISALS.

WE AND OTHER DONORS ARE TRYING TO FOCUS EFFORTS IN THE
JUSTICE AREA, SUPPORTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RWANDAN
JUSTICE SYSTEM. WE ARE PROVIDING DOLLARS 1.4 MILLION
TOWARDS START-UP COSTS AND WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO PROVIDE
MORE MONEY AND 10 TO 13 PERSONNEL. WE HAVE ALSO SUPPORTED
THE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND WE HOPE TO PROVIDE MONEY AND
PERSONNEL TO THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. WE HAVE ALSO
URGED CAMEROON TO DETAIN SUSPECTS WHO HAVE TAKEN REFUGE IN
THEIR COUNTRY, AND WE ARE COOPERATING WITH THE TRIBUNAL
AND OTHERS TO ESTABLISH A LIST OF SUSPECTS.

THE GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY CONCERNS MUST BE ADDRESSED WE
CAN HELP BY DEVELOPING A FAIR APPRECIATION OF THE THREAT,
AND SHARING THAT WITH THE GOVERNMENT. AND WE CAN HELP BY
GETTING ZAIRE AND THE UN TO WORK TOGETHER TO GET THE
PROBLEM UNDER CONTROL ON THAT SIDE OF RWANDA (THERE IS AS
YET NO THREAT FROM THE TANZANIAN CAMPS).

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THE GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE 6000 MAN UNAMIR
FORCE HAS DETERIORATED. THE GOVERNMENT SAYS IT WANTS TO
ASSERT AND EXERCISE ITS SOVEREIGNTY BUT CANNOT DO SO WITH
A MASSIVE UN PRESENCE. IT MAY BE THAT THE GOVERNMENT ALSO
OBJECTS TO THE PRYING EYES OF THE FORCE. IN ANY CASE
UNAMIR'S MANDATE IS UP FOR REVIEW NOW BEFORE ITS RENEWAL
IN EARLY JUNE.

REBUILDING RWANDA: U.S. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

WE ARE COMMITTED TO HELPING RWANDA REBUILD. WE ARE
BACKING THIS COMMITMENT WITH DOLLARS 12.5 MILLION OF
ASSISTANCE (DOLLARS 11.6 MILLION HAS BEEN OBLIGATED) FOR
THE SUPPORT OF NINE MINISTRIES (DOLLARS 4 MILLION),
SPECIFIC SUPPORT OF JUSTICE (DOLLARS 4 MILLION), WORLD
BANK ARREARS (DOLLARS 2.5 MILLION), AND THE TRIBUNAL AND
MONITORS (DOLLARS 1.76 MILLION). THE DOLLARS 1 MILLION
PLANNED FOR ORPHANS HAS NOT BEEN OBLIGATED YET. HAVING
COMMITTED A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF OUR ASSISTANCE TO WORLD
BANK ARREARS IN ORDER TO FREE UP DOLLARS 50 MILLION IN
LOANS, IT IS PARTICULARLY FRUSTRATING TO LEARN THAT THE
MONEY IS NOT AVAILABLE BECAUSE OF THE BANK-GOVERNMENT
DISPUTE. END TEXT.

3. CHECKLIST OF ISSUES. BEGIN TEXT:

THIS TRIP OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR GETTING SOME CLEAR AND
EFFECTIVE MESSAGES TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE PRESENCE AND
VOICE OF GENERAL HEFLEBOWER WILL BE VERY USEFUL,
ESPECIALLY WITH THE RPA. TELLING THE RPA ABOUT THE
BEGINNING OF A SMALL (DOLLARS 50,000) ENHANCED IMET
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PROGRAM MAY ALSO PRODUCE DIVIDENDS WITH THIS AUDIENCE.

MORE SPECIFICALLY:

1) WE WANT TO ASSURE THE GOVERNMENT THAT WE SHARE ITS

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ANGER AT THE GENOCIDE AND ITS DEMAND FOR JUSTICE;

2) MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE UN SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE PROGRAM;

3) ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE DONORS HAVE BEEN REMISS IN DELIVERING AID AND EXPLAIN WHAT IS BEING DONE TO REMEDY THIS PROBLEM WHILE ENCOURAGING THE GOVERNMENT TO MOVE QUICKLY TO RESOLVE ITS DISPUTE WITH THE WORLD BANK;

4) SENSITIZE THE GOVERNMENT TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT ITS BEHAVIOR --TENSIONS WITH UNAMIR, CROSS BORDER OPERATIONS; VIOLENT CLOSURE OF THE IDP CAMPS THE MASS ARRESTS AND DEADLY PRISONS IN RWANDA; THE CLOSURE OF THE BORDER; THE EMPHASIS THAT AID MUST FIRST GO TO TUTSI RETURNEES -- IS BEGINNING TO COMPROMISE OUR ABILITY TO BE OF ASSISTANCE IN RWANDA AND CONSTITUTES A REAL THREAT TO OUR RELATIONS. IF NOT REVERSED;

5) INFLUENCE THE GOVERNMENT TO REVERSE ITS COURSE, BY

OPENING THE BORDER; CONDUCTING ITS IDP CAMP OPERATIONS IN COOPERATION WITH UN AND OTHER AGENCIES SO AS TO END LOSS OF LIFE; END THE MASSIVE DETENTIONS IN DEADLY CONDITIONS AT RWANDAN JAILS; AND TO RESPECT THE BORDER WITH ZAIRE SEEKING TO WORK WITH THE UN, WITH DONORS AND WITH THE GOZ

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TO ENHANCE RWANDAN SECURITY. END TEXT

4. TALKING POINTS. BEGIN TEXT:

--UNTIL ABOUT FOUR WEEKS AGO, I HAD NOT INTENDED TO INCLUDE RWANDA ON THIS LONG-PLANNED TRIP TO AFRICA. HOWEVER, I AM HERE ON A MISSION FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON, ACCOMPANIED BY GENERAL HEFLEBOWER. I AM HERE BECAUSE MY GOVERNMENT IS SERIOUS ABOUT ITS ENGAGEMENT WITH THE PEOPLE OF RWANDA IN THEIR EFFORT TO RESTORE AND REBUILD THEIR NATION.

--WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT THE PRESENT COURSE OF EVENTS AND ACTIONS WILL CARRY US ALL AWAY FROM OUR SHARED

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GOALS OF A RESTORED RWANDA.

--LET ME BE VERY CLEAR AT THE OUTSET. WE SEE THE RESTORATION OF RWANDA VERY MUCH AS A JOINT ENTERPRISE AMONG THE UNITED STATES, OTHER DONORS, THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF RWANDA. IT FOLLOWS THAT WHEN THIS ENTERPRISE IS IN TROUBLE, RESPONSIBILITY FOR FIXING IT IS SHARED AMONG ALL THE PARTNERS.

--THUS, WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU TO TELL US HOW WE CAN PUT OUR JOINT EFFORT BACK ON TRACK. AND WE COME HERE TO ASK THAT YOU, TOO, PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE REPAIR WORK.

--FORTUNATELY, WE HAVE A GOOD MODEL TO WORK FROM: THE VISION OF RWANDA THAT WAS DEFINED AT LAST JANUARY'S UNDP ROUNDTABLE. THAT MEETING PRODUCED AGREEMENT AMONG ALL PARTICIPANTS THAT DONORS, THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE
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RWANDAN GOVERNMENT WOULD WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A RESTORED RWANDA THROUGH RETURN OF THE REFUGEES, RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE FOSTERING OF A CLIMATE OF MUTUAL REGARD AMONG THE RWANDAN PEOPLE.

--THE PARTNERS IN THIS ENTERPRISE -- DONORS THE UN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA -- EACH ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITIES IN MAKING IT A SUCCESS.

--IN THE FRANKNESS THAT CHARACTERIZES CONVERSATIONS AMONG FRIENDS, LET ME TELL YOU THAT WE FEAR THAT THERE HAS BEEN A RETREAT FROM THIS COMMON VISION.

--AND THIS IS NOT OUR ASSESSMENT ALONE.

--LAST WEEK I PRESIDED OVER A MEETING OF THE RWANDA OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP. AS YOU MAY KNOW, THE UNITED STATES PUT THIS GROUPING OF DONORS AND UN AGENCIES TOGETHER LAST YEAR, WITH THE PURPOSE OF COORDINATING THE ACTION OF DONORS AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI. WE WANTED TO

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ACHIEVE A RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH WE WOULD ALL BE WORKING TOGETHER.

--THE ASSESSMENT OF THIS LATEST MEETING WAS SOBERING. THE MEETING PRODUCED AGREEMENT THAT ALL PARTNERS IN THE COMMON ENTERPRISE NEED TO DO MORE IF IT IS TO SURVIVE AND ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVES.

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--IT WAS ALSO SOBERING TO LEARN THAT WHILE WE HAD ONCE HOPED TO WORK SUCCESSFULLY TO BEGIN TO END THE ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA BY ALLOWING FOR THE IMPORT OF NON-LETHAL EQUIPMENT, IN THE CURRENT CLIMATE THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF SUCH AN INITIATIVE SUCCEEDING.

--AS I GO THROUGH MY REMARKS, YOU WILL SEE THAT THERE ARE MANY AREAS IN WHICH BOTH RWANDA AND THE DONORS NEED TO TAKE ACTION. I THINK THAT THE ROSG ACHIEVED ITS GOAL OF A BALANCED APPROACH TO RESOLVING OUR PROBLEMS.

--THE MEETING VERY CLEARLY CALLED FOR BETTER PERFORMANCE BY THE DONORS AND THE UNITED NATIONS. IN PARTICULAR DONOR PERFORMANCE ON TRANSLATING ASSISTANCE FROM PLEDGE TO ACTUAL DELIVERY HAS BEEN FAR TOO SLOW.

--WE ALL COMMITTED OURSELVES TO BRIDGE THIS GAP. I MUST NOTE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF THE FEW WHO HAS DISBURSED NEARLY ALL THAT WAS PLEDGED AT THE ROUNDTABLE.

--WE KNOW, TOO, THAT WE MUST HELP YOU GET THE GOVERNMENT ON ITS FEET IN ORDER TO SEEK BETTER PERFORMANCE FROM YOU. FOR EXAMPLE, DONORS AND THE UN AGREED THAT WE MUST ACCELERATE OUR EFFORTS TO GET YOUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM UP AND RUNNING. THIS WEEK MY GOVERNMENT WILL BE LOOKING AT HOW WE CAN DO OUR PART IN THAT EFFORT.

--IN THIS CONNECTION, I AM PLEASED TO STATE THAT WE HAVE COMPLETED THE PROCESS TO ALLOW FOR THE BEGINNING OF A SMALL ENHANCED IMET PROGRAM OF DOLLARS 50,000. THE EASE

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WITH WHICH THIS INITIATIVE GAINED CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT
COULD NOT BE DUPLICATED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS AT
KIBEHO.

-, THE ROSG WAS ALSO IN AGREEMENT THAT SPEED IS OF THE
ESSENCE IN GETTING THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL WORKING.
JUSTICE IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR COMMON VISION OF RWANDA'S
FUTURE.

--THERE WAS A GOOD DEAL OF TALK ABOUT THE DELAY IN GETTING
THE WORLD BANK EMERGENCY CREDIT RELEASED. WE AND OTHER
DONORS ARE UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE DELAY IN RATIFICATION
OF THE AGREEMENT WITH THE BANK. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT
THE CONTRACT FOR THE PROCUREMENT AGENT FOLLOWED ALL OPEN
BIDDING PROCEDURES. MY GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS MADE A MAJOR
EFFORT TO PUT BACK RWANDA'S ARREARAGES TO THE BANK SO THAT
YOU COULD HAVE ACCESS TO THE NEW MONEY. I URGE YOU IN
STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS TO CLOSE THIS ISSUE WITH THE BANK
SO THAT THE LOAN CAN BE DISBURSED.

--HOWEVER, I MUST SPEAK TO YOU TOO ABOUT OTHER AREAS WHERE
WE NEED YOUR HELP TO MOVE FORWARD. IN THE END, IT WILL OF
COURSE BE YOUR CHOICES AND YOUR DECISIONS WHICH WILL
DETERMINE YOUR NATION'S FUTURE.

--RWANDA, WE BELIEVE, IS AT A CROSSROADS. DONORS AT THE
ROSG WERE IN STRONG AGREEMENT WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S
RECENT ASSESSMENT. THE FEAR IS THAT EVENTS HERE MAY HAVE
ENTERED A VICIOUS, DOWNWARD SPIRAL.

--THE INGREDIENTS IN THIS ASSESSMENT ARE, I AM SURE
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FAMILIAR TO YOU. THE MILITARIZATION OF THE CAMPS IN ZAIRE AND TANZANIA; INCREASED INFILTRATION FROM ACROSS THE BORDERS; THE CREATION OF MASSIVE DETENTION CENTERS TENSE RELATIONS BETWEEN YOUR GOVERNMENT AND UNAMIR; THE FORCED CLOSURE OF IDP CAMPS IN SOUTHWESTERN RWANDA.

--WE ALL RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEMS THAT YOU HAVE WITH THE CAMPS ON YOUR BORDERS. THE ACTIVITIES THAT SOME IN THE CAMPS ARE CONDUCTING IS CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE. THESE ACTIVITIES REPORTEDLY TAKE PLACE LARGELY BEYOND THE CONFINES OF THE CAMPS. THE UN WILL BE CONSULTING WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE AND THE OAU TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM. WE WILL VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THESE CONSULTATIONS.

--WE AND OTHER NATIONS WILL POOL OUR INFORMATION ON ARM-TRAFFICKING TO THE CAMPS. WE WILL EXAMINE WHAT WE CAN DO TO STEM THE FLOW OF ARMS AND ACT ON OUR CONCLUSIONS.

--BUT WE HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONCERNS ABOUT SOME STEPS YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN. THE DETENTION CENTERS ARE A MAJOR PROBLEM. WE HAVE SUGGESTED TO YOUR GOVERNMENT WAYS TO DEAL WITH THEM. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE ARE MAKING EFFORTS TO ACCELERATE ASSISTANCE TO YOUR JUSTICE SYSTEM, AS ARE OTHER DONORS. BUT IN THE MEANTIME, MANY DETAINEES ARE DYING. THE SUFFERING AND DEATH IN THESE CAMPS IS INCREASINGLY A CONCERN NOT ONLY TO DONOR GOVERNMENTS BUT TO THE PUBLICS TO WHOM THE GOVERNMENTS ARE RESPONSIBLE.

-,YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CLOSURE OF THE BORDER TO WORLD FOOD PROGRAM SHIPMENTS IS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER. FOOD INSECURITY IN THE CAMPS CANNOT PRODUCE GREATER SECURITY IN
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RWANDA. AND YOUR ACTION WILL GREATLY INCREASE THE BURDEN ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. I ASK THAT YOU IMMEDIATELY RESCIND THIS CLOSURE.

--WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT RELATIONS BETWEEN YOUR GOVERNMENT AND UNAMIR. UNAMIR IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S EFFORT TO RESTORE RWANDA. WE THINK THAT ITS MANDATE MAY NEED TO BE REORDERED AND WILL BE LOOKING CREATIVELY AT ITS MISSION WHEN THE MANDATE

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IS RENEWED THIS JUNE. BUT WE ASK YOU, AS WE HAVE ASKED THE UN, TO FIND WAYS TO WORK TOGETHER NOW TO END THE TENSION.

,--WE FEAR THAT THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF WHAT APPEARS TO BE A DETERIORATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION IN RWANDA OF THE CLOSURE OF THE BORDER WITH ZAIRE, THE CLOSURE OF THE IDP CAMPS, AND THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF INHUMANE DETENTION CENTERS, WILL BE TO UNDERMINE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR RWANDA IN DONOR COUNTRIES. MANY DONORS SHARE THIS CONCERN.

--I HAVE TALKED ABOUT OUR CONCERNS, FEARS, AND HOPES. I AM CONFIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT IF ALL PARTIES TO OUR COMMON ENTERPRISE OF BUILDING A RWANDA BASED ON RETURN, RECONCILIATION, AND REHABILITATION HOLD UP THEIR PART OF THE BARGAIN, WE CAN ACHIEVE THE VISION SET FORTH LAST JANUARY IN GENEVA. END TEXT

5. BIZIMUNGU SUPPLEMENTARY TALKING POINTS. BEGIN TEXT:

--WE HAVE RECEIVED YOUR REQUEST FOR A MEETING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT GORE WHEN BOTH OF YOU ARE IN PARIS MAY 8
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FOR THE CELEBRATION COMMEMORATING THE END OF WORLD WAR II

--I UNDERSTAND THAT THE VICE-PRESIDENT WILL ARRIVE IN PARIS LATE IN THE EVENING OF MAY 7 AND LEAVE AFTER LUNCH MAY 8. IT IS A SHORT TIME AND HIS SCHEDULE IS ALREADY CROWDED.

--ALTHOUGH MORE THAN 70 NATIONAL DELEGATIONS WILL BE AT THE LUNCHEON, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE A BRIEF EXCHANGE THEN.
CHRISTOPHER

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